1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
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Interesting for their native psychology and for the history of the first contact between European and native cultures are the anecdotes told by Zumbohm (230, vol. 5, p. 666): 177 152

> When the first horse was taken ashore the natives were greatly excited. "Some ran away as fast as they could, others lay on the ground. Those who were sufficiently brave to consider the strange thing a bit closer were not a little amazed when they saw the animal divide into two pieces when the rider dismounted." The islanders seem to have realized what a marvelous invention the wheel was. "When the wheelbarrow was loaded and set in motion, our islanders shouted with sheer admiration; the turning wheel was to them a living thing."
>
> In 1935, officers of the *Mercator* rode bicycles on the island. Though the natives were acquainted with cars and other vehicles, the bicycles created genuine bewilderment. Many made the sign of the cross and muttered "Tatane", expressing thus the fear that the device was the work of the devil.

In 1868 the English battleship *Topaze* visited the island and took away the statue called Hoa-haka-nana-ia, which stood in a house of Orongo. Palmer (171), the surgeon on the ship, made a rapid survey of the island and went as far as Rano-raraku, which he described for the first time. His scanty information about native life shows how greatly the old culture had been impaired. The most valuable data were given him by Roussel. 114 175

Captain Ignacio L. Gana, who has written a much-quoted treatise (86) about the island, visited it on the Chilean corvette *O'Higgins*, which stopped there in 1870. All of Gana's information derives from Roussel; unfortunately the Chilean officer either misunderstood or altered the original statements of the missionary so that his information is misleading.

The successful work of the missionaries was brutally interrupted in 1870 by the activities of a French adventurer, Dutroux-Bornier, who settled on the island. Dutroux-Bornier bought from the natives, for some pieces of cloth, the place called Mataveri, one of the most fertile lands of the island. Later he associated—for the exploitation of the island—with a wealthy trader of Tahiti, Mr. Brander. Very soon Dutroux-Bornier quarreled with the missionaries and started an open war against them. He was supported by the natives who had left the village of Hanga-roa to live with him in Mataveri and by the people of Anakena who were envious of those of Hanga-roa. Torometi, who seems to have been a chief or a man with considerable influence, joined Dutroux-Bornier. The people of Mataveri made several raids, which were reciprocated by the people of Hanga-roa. A war broke out in which the huts of both sides were burned and some men killed. Dutroux-Bornier went so far as to shell the village with gunfire. Every day Dutroux-Bornier's men plundered Hanga-roa and Vaihu which were at last entirely destroyed. Finally Bishop Tepano Jaussen ordered the missionaries to depart from a place where no more work could be done. The same year Brander sent a boat to Easter Island to recruit part of the population for his plantations in Tahiti. He had promised that this boat would carry all the natives willing to settle with the 175 721 797 167 175

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WAR

As reflected in legends and the accounts of missionaries, there was constant rivalry between the tribes, particularly between those of the eastern and western parts of the island. Wars were frequent and arose from the merest trifles, the principal causes being personal revenge, jealousy, greediness, and want (194, p. 360). Thomson (215, p. 476) states very pertinently that their "traditions are filled with accounts of sanguinary conflicts originating from trivial causes and continued through generations, until one party or the other were entirely exterminated." Disputes over the name of a night of the moon or a breach in etiquette might lead to war (81, vol. 38, p. 136). Generally words and blows were exchanged but people were not actually killed. The first act of war was to burn the hut of one's opponent. However even this did not always provoke war. The importance of the *matatoa* (warriors) in social organization shows the significance of war in the daily life of the island (p. 138).

Various games, principally spear and stone throwing, trained the children and the young men for war. If we may rely on Thomson (215, p. 476) these were the favorite amusements at feasts, even for grown men. A very popular legend, recorded by Roussel (190, p. 426) in 1867, and still well known, tells how young men had mock fights with spears with a blade made of calabash shell: "He hakamaa i te taua pahera" (They were learning the fight of the spears terminating in a calabash shell).

In the recently published manuscript of Father Roussel (190, p. 423) there is a very detailed and interesting account of warfare:

> When war was declared, all those who intended to take part in it smeared themselves with black and spent a sleepless night. They were busy preparing their weapons and hiding their most precious belongings. [There is no hint of human sacrifice or other offerings to the gods to procure favor.]
>
> Before daybreak the warriors set out, followed by their wives and children who accompanied them with protective chants and moans. The women and the children went to the hills nearest the battlefield to witness the victory or defeat of their husbands or fathers.
>
> As soon as their adversaries heard of the expedition they lay in ambush awaiting an opportunity to begin the fight. If they did not feel strong enough, they stayed at home and abandoned themselves to the victors who immediately started to burn and loot. Everything became prey of the flames—huts, sugar cane, and so forth. When all was burnt and looted, the vanquished were carried away indiscriminately, men, women and children, to a place chosen beforehand. On their way they satisfied their private grievances, striking the captives with cudgels was the mildest treatment. Some were buried alive and put into the oven when they died. Some were cut into pieces with an axe or trodden under the feet until their intestines burst forth. Others were burnt gradually until they died. All the cruel devices pagan barbary could invent were put to work against defenseless victims of all ages, sex and status.

A few more details, apparently authentic, are added by Thomson (215, p. 476):

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726 727 The clans were always led to battle by the chief, but there was no particular formation. Every man acted in accordance with his individual fancy, or as occasion demanded, relying upon skill and strength. . . . The slaughter on the field of battle was never very great, but in the event of a general defeat, the vanquished party was pursued by the victors to the hiding places, their habitations destroyed, females captured, children and infirm persons brutally murdered. The defenseless unfortunates who fell victims to their merciless captors, accepted their fate, whether it was slavery, torture, or butchery, with remarkable fortitude, seldom if ever making any show of resistance.

These wars between tribes or lineages are always presented in legends according to the same pattern:

The western tribes attacked the eastern or vice versa. When one party felt that it was overwhelmed and that victory (*ao*) was with their adversaries, the warriors fled and tried to take refuge in caves (*he opo ki roto ki te ana, he pipiko*) or on the rocks or islets off the coast. The old men, the women, and the children scattered and hid in caves or in deserted places. Those who had a powerful relative among the victors put themselves under his protection. These refugees were called *pakiroki*.

727 The victorious warriors promptly invaded enemy territory, looking for the hidden people. Those who were discovered were slaughtered or taken as slaves. Sometimes the women and girls were spared and given as wives to young unmarried warriors (87, p. 31). Guards were set on the coast to prevent refugees on the islets from renewing their attacks or from getting food. They had to live on seaweed (*auke*) and on fish. Most fortunate were those who could find *poporo* berries (*Solanum nigrum*).

[266 578] If among the dead enemies there was a man of high rank, the victors not only ate him, but burned his skull. This was considered the greatest of insults.

721 War for the modern Easter Islanders belongs to a far distant past and they know no more about it than is contained in the legends. (See pp. 363-389.) The fights with visiting Europeans were so brief that no observations of ethnological value could be made. Little material on warfare is given in missionary accounts, though a series of wars broke out in 1863 and 1864, provoked by disputes over land belonging to natives kidnapped by the Peruvians (p. 43). Zumbohm (230, vol. 5, p. 663) says: "When the crops were to be distributed there arose quarrels which degenerated into wars, the consequences of which were looting, devastation and famine." These wars were stopped by the missionaries but were renewed under the influence of Dutroux-Bornier (p. 45).

CANNIBALISM

266 Victoria Rapahango told me that when she was a small girl she had known the last *kai-tangata* (cannibal) of the island. All the children were much afraid of him. No native on the island denied that his ancestors were cannibals. Some laughed at it; others resented any allusion to such a savage custom. Most of the islanders lost their self-consciousness about cannibalism after hearing of some instances of it in Europe. Roussel (190, p. 463) writes that cannibalism was abandoned only after the introduction of Christianity. Before that natives had eaten some white men, including two Peruvian slavers. Cannibalistic meals were eaten by warriors in a secluded spot, and women and

9: Forster T-5 (1774) 1777
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board, talked a great deal of dancing, as ſoon as we had quieted his fears with reſpect to the ſafety of his perſon. The diſpoſition of theſe people is far from being warlike; their numbers are too inconſiderable, and their poverty too general, to create civil diſturbances amongſt them. It is equally improbable that they have foreign wars, ſince hitherto we know of no iſland near enough to admit of an intercourſe between the inhabitants; neither could we obtain any intelligence from thoſe of Eaſter Iſland upon the ſubject. This being premiſed, it is extraordinary that they ſhould have different kinds of offenſive weapons, and eſpecially ſuch as reſemble thoſe of the New Zeelanders; and we muſt add this circumſtance to ſeveral others, which are inexplicable to us in their kind.

Upon the whole, ſuppoſing Eaſter Iſland to have undergone a late misfortune from volcanic fires, its inhabitants are more to be pitied than any leſs civilized ſociety, being acquainted with a number of conveniencies, comforts, and luxuries of life, which they formerly poſſeſſed, and of which the remembrance muſt embitter the loſs. Mahine frequently lamented their unhappy ſituation, and ſeemed to feel for them more than he had done for the New Zeelanders, becauſe he found them much more deſtitute. He added another ſtick to the bundle which compoſed his journal, and remembered Eaſter Iſland with this obſervation, *tàta maïtaï, whennùa èeno*, that the people were good, but the iſland very bad;

15:Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1919
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between the mountain in the apex and the cliff, and mixed up with them was a lesser people, the Hamea. To the east was another small clan, the Raa, which is spoken of in conjunction with the Miru and Hamea.

The principal Hotu Iti clans were the Tupahotu, the Koró-orongo, and the Hitiuira. The last were generally known as the "Ureohei"; they inhabited jointly the level piece of ground from the northern bay to the south coast, and had some dwellings on the eastern headland. Next to them on the south coast was a small group, the Ngaure.[1] The particular importance of the clans lies in the fact that, while they may be merely groups of one body, they may, on the other hand, represent different races or waves of immigrants. If there have been two peoples on Easter Island, these divisions are one place where we must at least look for traces for it.

Legend tells of continual wars between Hotu Iti and Kotuu. In recent times general fighting seems to have been constant, and took place even between members of one clan. A wooden sword, or paoa, was used, but the chief weapon was made from obsidian, and took from it the name of "mataa." This volcanic glass is found on the slope of Rano Kao, but the principal quarries are on the neighbouring hill of Orito. Tradition says its use was first discovered by a boy who stepped on it and cut his foot. The obsidian was knapped till it had a cutting edge, and also a tongue, which latter was fitted into a handle or stick (fig. 92). The various shapes assumed were dignified by names, fourteen of which were given, such as "tail of a fish," "backbone of a rat," "leaf of a banana." It was very usual to pick up these mataa, and hoards were occasionally found; in one instance fifty or sixty were discovered below a stone in a cave, and in another case the hammer-stone was found with them which had been used in the process of squeezing off the flakes. The weapon was

[1] Of these clan names, "Raa" means the sun and "Marama" the light. The signification of the others is not equally clear, and the natives could give no assistance; but Mr. Ray gives the following interesting information from other Polynesian sources. "Haumoana" means the sea-breeze; "Hitiuira" is probably "hiti-ra" or sunrise; and "Ure-o-hei" another version of "ura-o-heho," or red of sundown. "Koro-orongo" is doubtless from "Koro-o-Rongo," or the ring of Rongo (a well-known Polynesian deity), that is the rainbow. "Kotuu" appears to be a contraction of "Ko Otuu," meaning "The Hill"; the name "Otuu" is used alternatively for the same district. "Hotu" is another form of the word for hill and "Iti" signifies small, it presumably refers to Rano Raraku.